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New Republic

McCarran's Plan For Purity—

Immigrants, Keep Out!

Who Will Lead Congress?

Part II in an analysis of how the power will shift in the major committees if the Republicans control the Senate

MARGINALIA by Malcolm Cowley

Merle Miller reviews Chambers' WITNESS

THE MODERN SHAKESPEARE by Eric Bentley

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Letters

Proportional Representation

● The official intervention of Mr. Puerifoy, United States ambassador in Athens, urging stabilization of Greek political life through a return to the majority system of election, reveals an aspect of US foreign policy which could constitute a first step along a road dangerous for the whole Western alliance. It very clearly poses the question of the political limits of American aid and advice within the frame of Western co-operation.

From the American viewpoint, proportional representation is a disturbing factor in the structure of the state. This evaluation is applied as policy not only to the Greek case but to European electoral systems in general since, with the exception of Denmark, these systems are all more or less proportional. It is an evaluation not only inspired by the bipartisan structure of the American system, but buttressed by the works of dozens of American constitutional and political writers who, looking at the Europe of 1920-1938—its economic crises, parliamentary paralysis and multiplication of extremist parties—fastened upon a structural mechanism—proportional representation—as the causal evil. . . .

Essentially proportional representation is merely an electoral method, not a central issue in the life of a state. The reasons behind this process are of a different nature. One of the most important of these is the existence of a bitter ideological warfare in Europe, which, beginning with the wars of religion, continued within and among the states on the principle of nationalism and endures today on the social issues.

On the continent, the remnants of the feudal states had not, either before or after World War I, the intelligence to follow the example of the British aristocracy in the nineteenth century and of the British capitalists in the twentieth. Instead of collaborating in a peaceful process of transformation and democratization of the state, they gave battle to the social-reform parties.

In many cases this extremely conservative behavior of the propertied classes has continued into the present postwar period. In Italy, for example, after the Fascist interval, the capitalist and agrarian interests continue obstinately denying both any social function of property and the basic values of a democratic regime. European workers and many peasants thus find "natural" membership in the "parties of the exploited" which have so grown as to change basically the European framework.

These parties of the Left, it is true, at their beginning deemed proportional representation "their" method since it enabled them to get some seats in the parliament. But it would be un-historic and unpolitical to think—as recent American policy in Greece indicates some US official circles *do* think—that the fortune of Communist and Socialist parties in the past decades has been due to proportional representation or that the reduction of their present representation in any parliament through a return to the majority system of election would increase the real stability of the government in question. Under present circumstances, in most European countries, such a change would do more harm than good since that Communist and Socialist opposition which is today contained and exhausted within legal framework of parliament would then be able to manifest itself solely in direct civil strife.

Basically, proportional representation can neither bring about, nor destroy, a democratic state. The democratic state depends for its operation on the development of a responsible citizenry which can produce clever, honest and faithful men, gifted above all with that precious virtue which is democratic leadership. Such a ruling class is something which cannot be improvised especially after the terrible events through which Europe has passed and the death of many of the best of her youth. If, then, men lack—as in the Greek case—and leadership lacks, we cannot hold the electoral system responsible.

Probably the statement of Mr. Peurifoy will cause the Greek parliament to reassume the majority system and Greece will have a government which will face the same basic problems as its predecessor, and will try to deal with them in the traditional short-sighted way. Then the US in Greek national affairs or to ignore the situation. In both cases it will discourage those Greek citizens and leaders who are really democratic.

The Western alliance is a very delicate mechanism to deal with. It is true that the Soviet Union, leading nation of the Soviet bloc, does not spend time and energy in adjusting its methods to the traditions and habits of her allies; but that is no reason for the US to act similarly. America's Achilles' heel in Europe—and in Asia—is always the same: the suspicion that the American policy is only and substantially directed toward building a "Yankee empire" in the world. Not to enforce this doubt with exorbitant lectures on constitutional methods, but to help strengthen the cultural, political and democratic values of Western Europe in a prudent and intelligent way, this should be the job of American diplomacy.

Cambridge, Mass. GUGLIELMO NEGRI

From Paine to Truman

● When President Truman's message to Congress urged us not to be sunshine patriots or summer soldiers, the words were not his own. They appeared first in a pamphlet *The American Crisis*; and they carry to us now overtones of the winter at Valley Forge. Washington needed a statement to revive the morale of his soldiers. The person to whom he turned was Thomes Paine. The effect of *The Crisis* (as the pamphlet came to be commonly known) was so helpful that later Paine did more of the same.

But this service, along with others by Paine, was forgotten when his love of liberty led him to write about religion in ways which offended the orthodox. They called him atheist merely because his conception of God was not their own. He rejected the God of the traditional churches in favor of a belief which today we would call Unitarian and to which millions even in the older congregations are now more likely to subscribe. The ugly term, "atheist," however was enough to be-

(Continued on page 4)

Bandwagon

Red-Wings, No Doubt

Brisbane, Australia. Starving birds from Siberia who come to Australia to fatten and returned "to be eaten by the Russians" should not be protected, Thomas Alfred Hiley, deputy opposition leader has told Parliament.

Several members suggested the birds be barred as Communists. . . .—*From the* Christian Science Monitor.

Lo, the Poor Elephant

John J. Williams (R, Del.), ablest corruption hunter in the US Senate, charges the Democrats have used the Internal Revenue Bureau to help pay campaign expenses while the Republicans have been denied similar misuse of the tax agency. This should result in swift corrective legislation.—*From an editorial in the Indianapolis* Star.

Bon Appetit

Minneapolis. The smorgasboard was legal again today in hotels and restaurants here. District Judge Levi M. Hall ruled that a city ordinance prohibiting "unsanitary display of food" does not apply to restaurants, but only to grocery stores.—*From the Seattle* Post Intelligencer.

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – The Editors.

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

TWENTY correspondents and columnists sat around a table here last week and thought up mean questions for Ike at his make-or-break press conference at Abilene, Kansas, June 5. The journalists were there on the preview invitation of Eisenhower GHQ, and a stenographer took down the queries for quick transmission to Ike's Paris headquarters where he can bone up on replies. Some guests favored Ike, some opposed him, but the chore was to think up the dirtiest questions possible in a deadly serious job of advance preparation. You get an idea of what lies ahead in a two-edged query like this: "Do you think that, on the whole, Secretary Acheson has done a fairly good job?" Answer that question either way and see the reaction Ike gets! When the candidate reads those queries he may stay in Paris.

Civilian friends of Ike in Paris haven't been too happy. Too much military. Gen. Lucius Clay has often seemed like chief interpreter, and even politicians like Hoffman and Lodge query Clay on what Ike thinks. Ike's thinking is conditioned in part by the army staff on which he depends. Fortunately for the nation Ike is a resilient man with a flexible mind who presumably can make the transition to civilian life in a hurry. We hope so, for current ideas of his close military staff on social and economic questions, judging from first-hand evidence, are breath-taking. Occasionally, as we see the actual process going on of turning a military glamor-figure into a civilian political leader in a hurry, we are staggered.

Harry Truman always perplexes us. He has probably made some of the worst domestic appointments since Harding, maybe since Grant. Now it turns out that Deputy Attorney General Gus Vanech flunked bar exams two or three times in the District of Columbia and once in Virginia before switching an ultimate law license in Tennessee back to the District. That is the kind of thing that blots Truman's record.

Then we come to the reverse side of Truman. He is about the most effective political speaker for liberalism in the country. Most other politicians haven't yet lifted their eyes above the Chicago July conventions, but Truman is bang-banging on issues that will decide the election in November. The steel dispute looked like a liability; Truman audaciously grabbed, and it may be a substantial asset. The Supreme Court must decide the constitutional issue of seizure, but the industry's failure, as Economic Stabilizer Roger Putnam put it, "to bargain on a single one of some 100 different demands of the union," is a matter for the court of public opinion. The GOP has taken the steel operators' side though it is hard to justify it financially or economically. Truman has seized the "offshore oil" issue, too, thereby squarely opposing Eisenhower. He has shrewdly cited the GOP isolationists' attack on the pleas of Senator Wiley for bipartisanship on foreign policy. His admonition to the ADA to "stick by the liberal principles of the Democratic Party; we are not going to get anywhere by trimming or appeasing" is powerful medicine. Almost single-handedly Truman is steering the 1952 election into a liberal-conservative clash as opposed to efforts to cloud the issues.

It must be reported here that our original belief that Eisenhower would get the GOP nomination from Taft is somewhat diminished. Contest after contest shows that Republican voters actually prefer Ike, and we had naïvely assumed this would be decisive. We still think it likely. But evidence also accumulates that Taft controls key Southern "Republican" delegates and, what is

reaying for noor debate the Mutual Assistance Act of Immigration and Nationality Lawyers. In an unex-
1952 through which America will give away $7 billion ceeded display of effrontery, McCarran has dared to

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more important, committees at the GOP convention that will seat them rather than rival Ike delegates.

What with the election, we have taken our eye off the H-bombs for a moment.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 2)

smirch the memory of him until a Virginia Unitarian, Moncure D. Conway, did a full-length biography in 1892. Refer-

● Will you please furnish me with the name of those to whom a contribution can be sent to aid in the fight to defeat Senator McCarthy of Wisconsin?

Kansas City, Mo. J. M. FERGUSON

THE WEEK

REVOLT IN TEXTILES

A secession movement of indefinite proportions of locals and members from the third largest CIO affiliate, the Textile Workers Union of America, to the rival AFL United Textile Workers has precipitated one of the most significant inter-union disputes since the exodus of John L. Lewis from the CIO in 1940.

The extensive bolt is the culmination of internecine strife within the 350,000-member CIO union over the last two years. At its recently concluded Cleveland convention a showdown fight took place between the supporters of President Emil Rieve and Executive Vice-President George Baldanzi. Rieve and his entire slate won by a substantial margin over the Baldanzi group. The latter charged that the convention was "packed and rigged." The votes were counted by the impartial Honest Ballot Association, but Baldanzi people say that Rieve denied the opposition an opportunity to debate the issues and that Baldanzi, one of the most gifted orators in the labor movement, was denied the floor until after the votes were counted.

On the last day of the convention Rieve told the 2,000 delegates: "I want to say to the opposition that there will be no reprisals—but the people on the staff will have to stop their politicking or they will not be tolerated." A letter dated that same day, it was charged, fired Baldanzi supporter Luther Carroll who had nominated North Carolina Director Lewis Conn to oppose Rieve's candidate, Secretary-Treasurer William Pollock. Within 10 days, Baldanzi's people maintain, 20 more had been discharged.

During this period Baldanzi accepted a position with the AFL union of some 70,000 members as national director of changes Baldanzi had sought in the CIO union such as membership election of state, regional and industry directors rather than direct appointment by the union president.

Figures vary on the size of the break. Rieve sources estimate a low of 25,000 and a high of 75,000. A Baldanzi spokesman says he expects a minimum of 100,000 of the CIO textile workers to go AFL but predicts the number will reach 150,000 eventually. It is agreed that a substantial bloc of bolting locals are in the South where the future of the industry lies. Baldanzi support is also strong in New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Canada. Rieve's predominate strength is in New England.

The picture is expected to remain confused for weeks and months as the battles rage in union halls and in the courts. Rieve, with the support of President Philip Murray and the CIO, is battling with all his resources to limit the break. In the balance hangs the coveted textile-union base which will be the nucleus of a potential union organization of the South.

DISROBING THE KKK

The Ku Klux Klansmen who last fall went on a spree of terrorism in two adjacent farm counties in North and South Carolina have, temporarily at least, been quelled. Early this year the FBI, assisted by state and county officers, rounded up 11 of the robed night riders, who had abducted and flogged a 23-year-old Negro girl last November and had also participated in the kidnaping and flogging of a white man and his wife.

When the Klansmen were brought to trial this month before federal Judge Don Gilliam of the US District Court in Wilmington, N. C., one of the defendants, Steve Edmunds, testified that years on kidnaping and conspiracy charges and acquitted one of the defendants, sharply criticized the men for acting as "self-appointed arbiters of the morals of the community."

This case marks the first fight in which the government has invoked the anti-kidnaping law against the Klan. Negro organizations and many other individuals have long pled for intervention by the Department of Justice to protect the civil rights of minorities in the South. This case assures continued national interest in disrobing the Klan.

CRACKING CONTROLS

The heavy-handed campaign of the National Association of Manufacturers, the US Chamber of Commerce, the American Retail Federation and other well-financed business organizations to scuttle wage, price and rent controls is making noticeable progress as the Senate Banking and Currency Committee prepares the Defense Production Act of 1952 for final committee vote.

The committee has already delivered a body blow to wage stabilization by voting to remove the disputes powers from the Wage Stabilization Board and reorganize it with only public members to be approved by the Senate. The key figure on the committee, Sen. Burnet Maybank (D, S.C.), threw his weight to exclude industry and labor members from the Board but did vote to maintain the disputes powers. This was defeated by the narrowest of margins, 5 to 5.

The committee agreed to extend the badly damaged price-control provisions until March 1, 1953, although the act itself will not expire until June 30. Clem D. Johnson, Chamber of Commerce vice-president, had said that controls should not be continued beyond the March 1 date. The price-control

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A new amendment was adopted which gives state sales statutes precedence over federal pricing law. Where state ceilings are higher they would rule. Among other items, the price of milk in some states will be affected.

The committee bill would also exempt all terminal and dock facilities from price control, as well as all services and materials owned by state-owned stores.

The Frear (D, Del.) "Toilet Amendment," raising the ceiling price for pay toilets in railroad stations from five to 10 cents was passed—an increase sought by the Pennsylvania Railroad.

A single strengthening amendment was recorded. The Capehart Amendment, which provides that cost increases incurred between the outbreak of the Korean War and last July 26 must be considered in determining price ceilings, was voted to apply only to manufacturers and not to retailers.

THE McCARTHY LETTERS

Thanks to the Senate Election Subcommittee investigating the fitness of Sen. Joe McCarthy, Americans are not forced to wait until publication of the collected letters of that gentleman to learn some of the fascinating details of McCarthy's *modus operandi*. The subcommittee has made public an exchange of letters between Senator Joe and Matt Schuh, president of the Appleton (Wis.) State Bank, which provides an enlightening footnote for future historians on high finance among the politicians. All this has been revealed as a part of an inquiry into the circumstances under which McCarthy received $10,000 from the Lustron Corporation for a 32-page manuscript when both he and the corporation were near bankruptcy.

A review of the "Dear Matt" letters is illuminating. On April 15, 1947, the Senator wrote his banker that he was returning two bank notes:

> Instead of having Ray [Kiermas—an employee of McCarthy's] give you a check for the interest on these two notes, I wonder if you would apply it on the principal instead, in that I would like to wait until near the end of the year to decide whether the interest should be paid this year or next year for income-tax purposes.

On April 18, Matt replied he would comply with the Senator's request:

> We are returning herein the two other notes which you recently signed, which you can destroy. . . . Trusting that you will mail us an additional check so we can again get your margin up to 20 percent without much further delay so the loans won't be criticized. . . .

When the two notes were again due in July, 1947, Senator McCarthy repeated his request, asking President Schuh to make out renewal notes, as well as notes for the interest.

> I would very much prefer paying the interest by note if this isn't too objectionable to you. I have two reasons for wanting to pay by note instead of cash—one of which is that I don't want to use this interest as an income-tax deduction this year, and if I pay by cash I can't hold it over until next year as a deduction. I wonder if you might have any idea as to what the second and even more important reason is. Sincerely yours, Joe. P.S. Today's tip on the market—buy.

Several months later, Senator McCarthy's finances were so desperate that he appealed to Russell M. Arundel, a wealthy sportsman and owner of the Long Island Pepsi-Cola bottling plant, to sign a note for $20,000. President Schuh acknowledged the receipt of the note and wrote McCarthy to "have Mr. Arundel endorse the note on the back so in the event it isn't taken care of on the day it is due, we won't have to protest it. . . P.S. Try to get this note back to us by return mail." This exchange took place in December, 1947, when Pepsi-Cola and other soft-drink manufacturers were having trouble getting sugar, still rationed from the wartime shortage. McCarthy lead the opposition against the extension of sugar rationing, made several speeches in which he called the rationing unnecessary and a "farce."

By 1948, the year in which McCarthy sold his highly valued manuscript to Lustron, the Senator's finances were in desperate shape. The Senator had attached $23,452 of Ray Kiermas' assets to his own collateral. His indebtedness to the Appleton Bank reached $72,943. Despite this grave problem, discussed in a letter to the Senator on April 5, 1948, Matt Schuh found time to add a note on the political weather:

> It would be my judgment that MacArthur is going to run first in Appleton and that it will be a close second between Stassen and Dewey. The early part of last week we heard that you were going to be in Appleton last Friday, and I figured that you were probably going to introduce Dewey at his speech that night. . . .

The Senator received a more frantic note from his banker on September 29, 1948, in which he said the Arundel note must be paid "within the next 10 days or charge it off. . . . [the state bank examiner's department] insisted that we take the $10,000 savings account of Ray Kiermas on payment of the note. . . ." On October 13, McCarthy shot back: "Hold up everything on this until I return to Appleton, which will be immediately after the election." On November 12, McCarthy signed the contract for $10,000 with the Lustron Corporation, temporarily pulling himself out of the financial hole. By 1951, things were looking up. Senator Joe wrote, "Dear Matt":

> . . . we sold 1,000 shares of Seaboard for a total $61,000. . . . This should be sufficient to take care of the loan to the bank, together with my loan to F. J. Sensenbrenner. As of July 1, I owed Mr. Sensenbrenner $14,016.63. . . . This should help your ulcers. . . . Sincerely yours, Joe.
>
> P.S. Again thanks for everything!

NEXT ROUND FOR ADA

A President and three White House candidates gave proof, if such was needed, that Americans for Democratic Action has become a vital force in US politics. Appearing before its Fifth Annual Convention in Washington, President Truman, Averell Harriman, Estes Kefauver and Brien McMahon, paid tribute to ADA and declared their general loyalties to its principles. The dominant interest of the convention was clearly in retaining the "civil-rights" plank. Sen. Hubert Humphrey sparked the issue and Truman's promise to stick by the Fair Deal's "winning platform" kept it alive.

The second center of interest was ADA'S Presidential choice. The ADA is apparently foregoing open support for a candidate in order to make its full influence felt in shaping the Democratic Party plank in Chicago.

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SPRINGTIME IN EUROPE

THE European Defense Community and the European Army are running into stormy weather. It was the plan after the Lisbon Conference, or rather the hope, to mobilize enough popular support in France and West Germany to get the projects safely ratified by the Paris and Bonn legislatures in time to present them to Congress, for approval before the summer adjournment. Now, however, the prospect is none too bright.

One of the reasons is psychological. Not only has the spring season been pleasanter in most of Western Europe than any other since the end of World War II, but the political climate on the international scene has seemed to be relatively better. There has been a greater respite from acute anxiety than in any comparable period since the start of the Cold War. As André Fontaine, an excellent judge of French political moods, points out:

> An odd sense of security has gradually taken hold of the French people in recent months. It owes nothing to the activities of M. Pinay, indeed antedates them. It comes from the fact that the ordinary citizen, after having been dreadfully afraid of war for three or four summers, has stopped thinking about it as likely in the near future. . . .

Undoubtedly, the propaganda of the Soviet trade offensive, following up the long peace offensive, has contributed something to the making of this mood in France and elsewhere in Western Europe. Probably the absence of some of the previously omnipresent American propaganda, resulting from American preoccupation with domestic affairs, has also played a part. And while the European peoples have also turned away from the world scene toward their home affairs, some of the Germans have again begun—with the official sanction of their government—singing *Deutschland Uber Alles*. It seemed like the old days once more: the threat of world war a distant reverberation and the filling of the vacuum of power between the Soviet and the American worlds a less urgent matter than the rise of Germany to power in the little Old World of Europe itself.

The effect of this mood has been to change the psychological pattern of the popular European forces which must give or deny approval to the European Army and the European Defense Community. Previously there tended to be pessimists who in various ways and degrees feared war in the foreseeable future and optimists who thought it could be put off. Now, there are pessimists and two different kinds of optimists. The pessimists tend to believe that the rearmament of Germany guarantees war rather than assures peace. One faction of the optimists thinks that war can be postponed, perhaps indefinitely, by forging ahead with the making of the "position of strength" explicit in the EDC. And another faction, the neo-optimists, hope that there may be a chance, this spring and summer, to prevent war altogether by making a fundamental change in the dynamics of power.

The statement of the British Labour Party on Germany plainly suggested the attitude of the neo-optimists. It implied that the integration of West Germany into the EDC, while temporarily postponing war between the West and East, would ultimately make it inevitable. On the other hand, thorough and open-minded exploration with the Soviets of the problem of all-German unity might put in motion a real change in the pattern of permanent and static tension.

The Observer of London scornfully rejected this notion, with a passionate bitterness unusual in British journalism:

> . . . the Labour Party statement reveals what has always been the greatest congenital weakness of European social democracy: its failure to understand the role of power in international affairs. The idealism which seeks to transcend power-politics is admirable; but it seems always, among Social Democrats, in danger of being confused with a mere running away from the facts of power. We shall not achieve a peaceful and stable world by a mere childlike belief that international power conflicts can be solved with a mixture of good will, big words and soft soap.

To this the retort is made that it was not the idealists but those who presumed to understand power who in the past made the greatest mistakes about the way the Germans play the game of power. Perhaps Konrad Adenauer can be trusted, but his party is losing strength despite all the efforts of the State Department to help him. And what about his successors in the West Germany which is so steadily raising the price of its contribution as to alienate even its best British friends? Claude Bourdet was speaking for more than continental Bevanism when he wrote in his weekly *Observateur*:

> One day in 1938 the Western politicians, who had forgotten Rapallo, thought it was clear to limit Hitler's ambitions in the West by giving him a free hand in the East. . . . The Soviet reply came exactly one year later—the German-Soviet pact. We know what followed. In 1950-52 the Western politicians, who have forgotten Rapallo and the German-Soviet pact, have thought it clever to revive a military Germany to serve, if need be, as a weapon against the Soviet Union.

It is precisely because the neo-optimists have not forgotten Munich, paradoxical as it may seem, that they want a full-dress meeting with the Russians. They believe that the American proposal for a "miniature" Big-Four meeting in Berlin was, as the French say, neither goat nor cabbage. It hurt rather than helped Adenauer. It seemed so much a bluff that it did the opposite of calling the Soviet bluff—if the Soviet is really bluffing. It jeopardized further the EDC timetable, as established by the State Department, and it risked the destruction of any chance for a serious Big-Four conference. For the real task is not merely to learn whether or not the Russians would accept free election in Germany, but to find out the price for acceptance; and, if that is too high, to convince European public opinion to drop any illusion about the chance of preventing war altogether instead of merely postponing the ultimate conflict.

Paris PERCY WINNER

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If the GOP Wins . . .

WHO WILL LEAD CONGRESS?

I know not how better to describe our form of government in a single phrase than by calling it a government by the chairmen of the Standing Committees of Congress.—Woodrow Wilson

PART II: THE SENATE

IN EACH election since 1932 the party that has won the Presidency has also gained control of the Senate. But even the Republicans who are confident that the GOP will elect a President this year, after a 20-year absence from the White House, are not firmly predicting a Republican majority in the Senate.

The terms of only 14 Democratic Senators expire this year, while the seats of 20 Republican Senators are to be filled in this election. Since there are now 50 Democrats and 46 Republicans in the Senate, the GOP must win three seats now held by Democrats and retain all those they now hold in order to control.

The voters will elect 34 Senators in 33 states next November. Seven of the 14 Democratic seats in question are in such normally Democratic territory as Florida, Kentucky, Mississippi, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. Six of the 20 GOP seats at issue are in such normally Republican territory as Maine, Nebraska (which has two races this year), North Dakota, Vermont and Wisconsin. All this adds up to what is sure to be an uphill fight for the Republican Party.

Major battles between the parties for Senate seats are expected to occur in: Arkansas, California, Connecticut, Delaware, Indiana, Kentucky, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Utah, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin and Wyoming. The Republican strategy is concentrated first on holding the seats in these states which it now controls. In at least three cases, this admittedly will be difficult. Strong challenges are being made against Republican Sens. Harry P. Cain of Washington, Zales Ecton of Montana and James Kem of Missouri.

The second Republican target is to take a minimum of three of the nine seats outside the solid South now held by Democrats. In this category, GOP campaign chiefs think their prospects are bright for defeating Democratic Sens. William Benton of Connecticut and Blair Moody of Michigan, and of electing a Republican to the seat now held by Herbert O'Conor of Maryland, who is retiring.

In addition, the Republicans are hungrily eyeing the seats of three veteran Senate Democrats, Joseph O'Mahoney of Wyoming, Dennis Chavez of New Mexico and Ernest McFarland of Arizona, which they think are ripe for the picking because of the growth of GOP strength in those states in recent years. And the Republican strategists think the outlook is unusually hopeful for them in the border states of West Virginia and Kentucky, particularly in the latter where the respected former Sen. John Sherman Cooper is attempting a comeback.

If a Republican President should be elected in November by only a modest margin, the chances are slight that he would have a Republican Senate to help him enact his program into law. But should General Eisenhower be nominated and go on to election by the sweeping landslide his ardent followers glowingly prophesy, drastic changes will occur in the leadership of the Senate, and therefore in the trend of the country, for, as Woodrow Wilson knowingly stated in the quotation at the head of this page, those who wield the influence in the upper house of the US Congress largely shape the character of an Administration. To picture the change in the centers of power which would occur in the Senate following a Republican sweep, we analyze on the following pages what the shift would mean in some of the major committees. Opposite the name of the committee, the editors indicate by a (+), (—) or (?) whether in their opinion, the change in chairman would be for better, worse or of doubtful consequence.

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HOW POWER WILL SHIFT IF THE

BANKING AND CURRENCY (—)

Paunchy, stubborn stalwart of the GOP old guard, Indiana's Homer E. Capehart would assume the chairmanship in a GOP Senate, replacing Democratic middle-roader Burnet R. Maybank of South Carolina. Few Senators have presumed to exceed Capehart as an arch foe of anti-inflationary controls — over rent, wages and prices — all of which are the province of this committee. Through the Defense Production Act he has endeavored to extend choice benefits to business, and an amendment which bears his name, permitting price increases, has contributed substantially to the inflationary spiral. Capehart, a former salesman with little basic economic education, is just the man to assure business monopoly the freedom to strangle the nation's economy.

FOREIGN RELATIONS (?)

Tom Connally, the dominating, irascible Texan who has lent his committee color and leadership will end a decade's service as chairman of Foreign Relations no matter which party wins this year. Stepping into his place will be one of three other veterans, none of whom have quite his verve. Chairman in case of a GOP victory will be Alexander Wiley, a hitherto undistinguished Wisconsin Kiwanian, who has in the last month, however, been pursuing a commendable campaign to win the stature necessary for inheritance of the Vandenberg mantle. Wiley, a prewar isolationist, has an excellent foreign-affairs voting record for the past three Congresses—and with the glaring exception of Bourke Hickenlooper—the committee's other Republican members are also passable internationalists. In case the Democrats keep control, the chairmanship will go either to ranking, conservative Walter F. George (Ga.) or liberal, mild Theodore Green (R.I.). George gave up the committee chairmanship in 1941 to head the Finance Committee, and is likely to do so again. Under any circumstance the committee is likely to remain a stronghold of relative enlightenment. Strong junior members like Brien McMahon (D, Conn.), John Sparkman (D, Ala.) and Henry Cabot Lodge (R, Mass.) will give it what drive its chairman may lack. However, their voices may be drowned out if a GOP victory loads the Senate down with Taftmen.

JUDICIARY (+)

The Judiciary Committee would present the Republicans with their one big opportunity to strike a blow for democracy. Tyrant Pat McCarran (D, Nev.) as chairman, has made cabinet officers, judges and immigrants alike pawns in his drive for power and victims of his racial prejudices. The committee's huge staff has been handpicked, mostly from Nevada, and McCarran's power is maintained with the help of committee members who include some of the most reactionary in Congress. The big question is whether William Langer (N.D.), a hard-hitting nonconformist, has the tact and parliamentary ability to loosen the grip of the McCarran coalition. Langer is sound in one of the committee's major fields—immigration legislation—but has a pronounced tendency to wander away on a variety of pet projects at any time. With McCarran's men making up a unified committee majority, a big question in control would also be the character of the new appointees from both parties. Reactionaries Eastland (Miss.), Smith (N.C.) and Ferguson (Mich.) are sure to remain, but O'Conor (Md.) is retiring, Jenner (Ind.) and Watkins (Utah) may not be returned.

GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS (—)

The Senate Committee on Expenditures in Executive Departments, recently renamed "Government Operations," has a wide range of investigatory powers. Under the leadership of Clyde Hoey (N.C.), the committee's permanent subcommittee on investigations has held remarkably fair and revealing hearings on the Lithofold case, the Newbold Morris-J. Howard McGrath feud and the sale of government-owned surplus tankers. Under a Republican regime, this subcommittee would be headed by Sen. Joseph McCarthy (Wis.) and would include two graduates from the House Un-American Activities Committee, Sens. Karl Mundt (S. Dak.) and Richard Nixon (Calif.). The Republicans who took over the committee during the 80th Congress made themselves memorable for the Howard Hughes fiasco, but McCarthy, Mundt and Nixon who play a far sharper game, could be expected to make far more devastating use of their almost unlimited power to pry into the operations of government agencies and harass any Fair Dealers yet remaining on their staffs.

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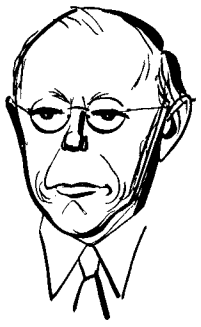
REPUBLICANS WIN THE SENATE

EDUCATION AND LABOR (—)



Republicans could conceivably organize the Senate with the present ranking member of the committee, Robert A. Taft, in the White House, If so, George D. Aiken would be next in line but since he would rather head the Agriculture Committee the mantle would fall to H. Alexander Smith of New Jersey, providing he is re-elected. If not, liberal Wayne Morse of Oregon is next in seniority. Were Taft chairman, he would repeat his role in the 80th Congress and seek legislation against labor far more restrictive than Taft-Hartley. Smith, a foreign-relations specialist, has never fundamentally disputed the Taft policy in the labor field but does not have the Ohioan's taste for devious machination. The policies of both Taft and Smith would be a sad contrast to those of pro-labor Chairman James E. Murray of Montana.

AGRICULTURE (?)

The coalition of Republicans and Democrats on the Senate Agriculture Committee, which has blocked the Administration's Brannan Plan, will continue to operate effectively under the leadership of either party. However, Sen. Allen Ellender (La.), the present chairman, has urged high price supports while Sen. George Aiken, ranking Republican, has fought for the sliding-scale principle and a revised parity formula that would lower the price of grain and feed and raise the parity price of poultry and dairy products thereby greatly benefiting the big dairy industry in Aiken's home state of Vermont.

ARMED SERVICES (?)

Most likely boss of a Republican Armed Services Committee is Leverett Saltonstall, the lanky, deliberative Bostonian, an Eisenhower man and present Senate GOP whip. Styles Bridges (N.H.), the highest-ranking Republican, has announced that he would prefer the Appropriations chairmanship. Saltonstall would encourage close military planning with Ike in the White House, but under any circumstance would bring about no great change in policy. Biggest dangers remain the second-ranking, economy-mad Democrat, Harry Byrd (Va.), and the three Republican "Senators from Formosa," Bridges, Cain (Wash.) and Knowland (Calif.)

INTERSTATE COMMERCE (?)

This committee has jurisdiction over the nation's communications and transportation. Some of its better chairmen in the past have bent under the heavy pressures of such powerful lobbies as those for the railroads, airlines and wire services. This has often been true of the current leader, Edwin C. Johnson (D, Colo.). Ranking Republican, Charles Tobey, could stand as a fire-cleansed rock against these interests were he to accede to the chair. He has done so on the St. Lawrence Seaway. He could do it on other issues. He would constantly be pressed, however, by Pan American Airway's gift to the Senate, Owen Brewster of Maine, for special treatment to airlines and by Homer Capehart of Indiana for special treatment to special interests generally.

APPROPRIATIONS (—)

The Senate Appropriations Committee, under the leadership of the aging Sen. Kenneth McKellar (Tenn.), has frequently restored some of the arbitrary budget cuts made by the House Republican-Dixiecrat coalition. Sen. Carl Hayden (Ariz.), who is second in command, and Democratic Senators O'Mahoney (Wyo.), and Chavez (N. Mex.), have usually been able to salvage a large part of the Administration's program. A Republican Congress would put Sen. Styles Bridges (N.H.), at the head of this committee and such enthusiastic budget-cutters as Ecton (Mont.) and Knowland (Calif.) in control.

FINANCE (?)

Walter George (Ga.), the present Finance Committee head, and Eugene Milliken (Colo.), his rotund, able GOP heir-apparent, rarely disagree. Both believe in encouraging business initiative by taking the maximum tax-bite from the lower-income brackets. Milliken presided over the 80th Congress' tax-slashing jamboree, pushed the inequitable provisions in last year's increase, and co-sponsored with George the resolution which would have prevented putting the tax-collectors under civil service. A successful water-law expert who thrives on the technicalities of tax legislation, Milliken would be the man to redeem Bob Taft's campaign promises.

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THE STEELWORKERS STATE THEIR CASE

by Edwin A. Lahey

A CRISIS, by definition, is a tense moment that comes and goes. There's resolution to it. So let's stop calling this steel thing a crisis. It's been with us for five months, and everybody who's had a hand at solving it has made the situation worse.

Some day it might finally be determined whether the steel industry, the federal government, the steelworkers or some combination thereof are the strongest disputants in the case. But in the meantime, there is nothing to prevent the US Supreme Court from mixing us all up further by declaring that President Truman, regardless of the patience of the steelworkers, should have used the Taft-Hartley Act to restrain the steel strike another 80 days before dipping into his undefined pool of inherent powers to seize the steel industry.

In this uncertain atmosphere, the CIO Steelworkers Union held its sixth constitutional convention in Philadelphia. The self-confidence and sense of restraint among the delegates were remarkable. In the early days of the CIO a critical wage dispute that dragged on for five months without resolution would have produced a formidable group of firebrands demanding action.

But instead there is a general sedateness under strain, due to a number of things. There is no extreme left-wing group in the union to heat things up. The members and delegates have complete confidence that their President, Philip Murray, will eventually negotiate an agreement embracing the recommendations of the Wage Stabilization Board. And, finally, there is a realization that one of these recommendations is for retroactivity of the wage increase to January 1. (That back-pay provision of the WSB's report, incidentally, is piling up a wage bill of $1 per day for each of about 600,000 workers in basic steel. If this "crisis" stretches out like the partition of Ireland, the back-pay settlement will amount to a staggering sum.)

The restraint of the steelworkers, apparent at their convention as well as in the steady production figures in an industry where techniques make a slowdown quite simple, does not mean that the union members are devoid of bitter feeling. Immediately beneath the surface, there was visible a deep resentment over the events of the past five months. The delegates stated their feelings plainly, but were still able to say that they were proud of the union's "sense of responsibility, the patriotism of its members, and their willingness to make sacrifices for their government."

Edwin A. Lahey, who has reported labor news for many years, is a member of the Washington bureau of the Knight Newspapers.

The delegates adopted a resolution declaring that the steel industry had created the crisis by refusing to bargain, had perpetuated it by rejecting the "government's moderate recommendations for a settlement," and had used the crisis as a bludgeon to extort inflationary price increases from the government. The convention offered the public a list of facts about the dispute as seen by the union in a presentation which was a somewhat belated answer to the high-pressure publicity campaign of the steel industry, but which had the virtue of finally compressing the union's case into one readable package. Here are the facts as reported in the convention resolution:

"Fact 1: The union has voluntarily postponed a strike against the industry six times since our contracts terminated on January 1. We have done so at the request of the President of the United States in recognition of the state of national emergency.

"Fact 2: The Wage Stabilization Board studied the facts of our dispute for almost three months before it offered recommendations for settlement. We believe these recommendations were inadequate. . . . Nevertheless, the union accepted these recommendations in a spirit of compromise and concern for the national welfare.

"Fact 3: The wage increases recommended by the Wage Board are not inflationary. They break no formulas. They breach no ceilings. They are fully and conservatively in accord with the American program for economic stabilization.

"Fact 4: The steel industry could absorb the proposed wage increases without raising prices a single penny and still make a fair and equitable profit return to the stockholders.

"Fact 5: The steel industry is on strike against the government's price regulations which apply to all other industries. What the steel industry wants, in effect, is a special government license to gouge the consumers. . . ."

With this summary of the steel dispute, as seen by the union, went an extremely mild threat to strike again when the case gets out of the courts and into another blind alley of inaction: "We cannot and will not continue indefinitely to work in 1952 for 1950 wages and working conditions; we cannot and will not continue indefinitely to work without satisfactory collective-bargaining contracts."

There was a brief but energetic demonstration of the solidarity of the union after the unanimous adoption of this resolution, but twice during the hours it was under discussion Philip Murray found it necessary to chide the

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delegates for absenting themselves from the convention at a critical period.

The speakers showed an almost Teutonic respect for the Supreme Court in their remarks. One delegate unconsciously revealed the complexity of the dispute when he told the convention that his members back home would indeed be militant in the present situation "if we could get into this fight legally."

The steelworkers were given a much-needed shot in the arm by Secretary of Labor Tobin, and to a lesser extent by Vice-President Barkley, both of whom appeared on the convention platform to deliver encouraging speeches. The convention was an important rostrum for the steelworkers to reaffirm their determination not to bargain downward from the recommendations of the Wage Stabilization Board, including the recommendation for a union shop. In a resolution, the convention said:

> We label the industry arguments against the union shop as fraudulent and phony. The plain fact of the matter is that the union shop is a hand-maiden to our economic advances. It helps to guarantee the retention of these advances; it protects our ability to serve our members more adequately, and it will over the long run help to improve labor-management relations in the steel industry.
>
> The United Steelworkers of America, being a strong and responsible union, is entitled to the union shop. We are determined to win it. It is the high resolve of this convention that we shall do so.

A significant aspect of the steel union's current attitude is the willingness of Philip Murray to build up support for the position of Price Administrator Ellis Arnall. When the steel dispute became an issue between the industry and the government over price concessions, Arnall showed a determination to hold price increases within the limits allowable under the Capehart Amendment to the Defense Production Act. The Capehart Amendment would give steel a price increase of about $3 per ton. In the critical days of back-room dickering after the resignation of Defense Mobilizer Charles E. Wilson on March 28 and before the seizure of the steel mills by President Truman on April 8, the government, represented by Acting Defense Mobilizer John R. Steelman, bargained itself into a position highly compromising to Arnall. Steelman persuaded the President that he could order Arnall to grant the steel industry a $4.50 price increase under the guise of "military necessity." Arnall, for all his earlier determination, was willing to "obey orders" in such a case. But the steel industry, in a seemingly secure bargaining position pushed for a $5.50 increase. Steelman then gave up, and the President issued his seizure order.

Arnall is now back in business as the defender of the $3 line on the question of a steel price increase. It is difficult to see how the government can forget its previous offer of $4.50 when and if negotiations are resumed with the steel industry. But Ellis Arnall's position has been strengthened by the report of the steel-union officers to the convention. This report takes up the price issue along the same lines, and with the same statistics, as those offered by Arnall in pamphlets published in recent weeks. The argument against breaching the Capehart Amendment, now a joint presentation of the OPS and the CIO, runs as follows:

> The steel companies were no exception to the general industry grab for the high profits through higher prices exacted from consumers in 1950.
>
> A wage increase equal to a cost of $3.80 per ton of finished steel, according to the Director of Price Stabilization, was accompanied by a steel price increase in December, 1950, in excess of $8 per ton.
>
> Not content with this irresponsible and greedy contribution to inflation, the steel companies attempted to impose their will upon the government and the American people by demanding another extortionate price increase in 1952.
>
> In relation to increased employment costs which would result from the moderate recommendations of the Wage Stabilization Board, which were estimated at about $3 per ton, the steel industry insisted upon a price increase of $12 per ton. This unconscionable demand was insisted upon right up to the point of forcing a strike.

(Note: The steel industry denies that it asked a $12 price increase. The industry spokesman says that the whole WSB package would cost $6 per ton in direct labor costs, and that secondary costs for material and labor usually are the equivalent of the direct costs. The OPS says that the latter part of that statement is not historically correct.)

As the delegates departed for their homes in the steel towns of the nation, the future resolution of the steel dispute was still anybody's guess. If the Supreme Court upheld Judge Pine and the mills reverted to private ownership again, another strike seemed certain. One delegate said that the three-day strike that followed Judge Pine's decision was "just a dress rehearsal."

If the ultimate in irony occurs and the President must enjoin the steelworkers for another 80 days under the Taft-Hartley Act, there will be no alternative for the union but to work. A tough judge can break the back of any union with fines for non-performance, as John L. Lewis has already learned.

It seems reasonable to guess, however, that the 1952 steel dispute will ultimately be resolved in the same manner that the 1946 steel dispute was settled, with price concessions to the industry sufficient to induce the corporations to accept the recommendations of the WSB.

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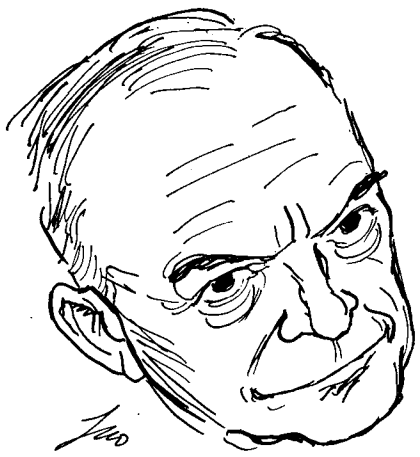
TEXAS STAMPEDES TO IKE

by Harold Young

SUMMER comes early in South Texas, and 84-year-old A. L. Parker mopped his brow and said to a reporter at the Harris County Republican convention in Houston, May 6: "I've been a Republican since New York City was a flag station. I'm for Taft, but I was swamped in my precinct last Saturday, and on my birthday, too."

The elderly man, without meaning to, had described pretty well what happened on May 3 to the old-line Republican organization in Texas. Under the late R. B. Creager of Brownsville, it used to deliver Texas' Republican delegation to Sen. Robert A. Taft whenever the Senator chose to be a serious candidate for his party's Presidential nomination, and it was set, once more, under National Committeeman Henry Zweifel of Fort Worth to deliver most of the state's 38 Republican convention votes to the senior Senator from Ohio.

May 3 was the day of the Republican precinct conventions in Texas. In the large cities, there was hardly a convention hall large enough to hold the turn-out. And in Harris County, at least, the Democrats when they held their precinct conventions a few hours later looked like a minority party. Take a typical Harris County precinct—No. 22; 418 Republicans showed up that day. Three hours later the Democratic convention could muster only 83 persons to quarrel over the party pledge that divides the Democrats.



If there was a magic word in all this rush of Texans to Republican precinct conventions, the word was Eisenhower. The young voters, the women and the so-called independent voters crowded into tiny, hot and uncomfortable meeting places to raise their voice in the chant of "I Like Ike." Zweifel, a country-town postmaster under Teddy Roosevelt, bolted his own precinct convention in Fort Worth. He is the campaign manager for Senator Taft in Texas. Three days later at the Tarrant County convention, he led the bolt of the Taft forces to a rump convention.

In Harris County, Mrs. Carl Stearns, Republican National Committeewoman from Texas and a Taft manager, was out-numbered at her precinct convention. She led 40 or more Taft bolters to the backyard of her own home and held a rump convention. Her husband, Carl Stearns, Houston attorney, was the floor leader at the Republican county convention in Harris County and led the bolt to the Harris County rump convention, held in a school yard. Some of the vociferous Taft bolters screamed "Fair Dealer" at the Eisenhower folk they left behind.

In Dallas, the bolt from the county convention was led by George Atkinson, County Republican Chairman, and as the Taft bolters walked out, one of their leaders, Walter Rogers, rallied them with the cry: "All right, Taft, MacArthur and full-time Republicans, let's walk." In Wichita Falls, Orville Bullington, chairman of the State Republican Committee, who has not committed himself entirely in the battle, wished the Eisenhower captors of the Wichita County Republican convention well. He said he hoped all of the newcomers to the Republican Party would stay with it. A realistic Taft leader in Dallas said he was going back to selling insurance. He thought things were over.

The island unto itself in this vast Eisenhower sea was Bexar County, which for a decade in the 1920s sent a Republican Congressman to Washington. Taft carried its precinct and county conventions.

There can't be any quarrel about where all of these Eisenhower people came from—the ranks of nominal Democrats. The quarrel among the Republicans of long persuasion is how to regard them. "Dirtdobber Republicans," an embittered Taft supporter, Dr. W. L. Davis, said at the Harris County Republican convention. "Dirtdobber Republicans—those Democrats who wait like dirtdobbers until someone else builds a house and then moves in." A dirtdobber is a wasp, one which Texans believe won't sting. And many a Texan would argue all day that dirtdobbers do build their own nests.

The embattled Taft forces predict that they will win at the Republican state convention May 27. To do it, however, the state executive committee will have to resort to technicalities to unseat county after county of Eisenhower delegations. The Eisenhower stampede in Texas may be the turning point which some Texas Republicans have long awaited to put the state in the two-party column. If Ike is nominated in Chicago, a rash of Texas Republican candidates for Congress is expected. And it may be that Ike's coattails will be magnetic enough to pull them all the way to Washington in November.

Harold Young, former editor of the Texas Spectator, is now on the staff of the Houston Post.

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EUROPEAN ARMY—OUR DOUBTS AND HOPES

by Andre Philip

AT LAST the European Army project has been initialed by the governments of Europe. Now it faces the test of ratification under conditions that grow harder day by day. The project is the key to the defense of the West. Yet nationalists unwilling to surrender local sovereignty, pacifists unwilling to see a military effort become the heart of a united Europe and all who fear Germany, or who wish to see Germany rise again, are joining to kill the European Army at its birth. And this is not the only danger. The truth is that the project in its present form is inadequate. Since military unification requires political unification, a bolder and greater effort is demanded if we are to advance toward security. Europe now faces the decisive step.

Security is the principle issue. But for Americans brought up on federalism, the institutions created by the European Army plan and the system of checks and balances it proposes are a vital test of federal principles. In this light, seven characteristics of the present draft are of most interest.

First, the basis of the unified army is no longer the combat team, but the division. Its service units are held to a minimum. Its weapons permit it to carry out brief action, but it cannot survive without the support of an army corps. The army corps is the real unit: it includes several divisions and comprises command organs, reinforcement and maintenance units and an integrated logistics support. Only the army corps is capable of independent action, because it alone comprises the supporting elements which belong to different branches as well as maintenance units. The army corps comprises 80,000 men and the national divisions of which they are composed, from 12,000 to 13,000 men.

The draft says nothing about the navy. An agreement seems likely under which coastal defense will have a European character, while units on the high seas will remain within a national framework. For the air force, the basic unit is the wing, comprising 75 planes and 1,200 men.

Second, the European Army combines all of the member-states forces, with these reservations. The states may keep forces necessary for the defense of overseas territories and their replacements. In emergencies some national contingent may be temporarily withdrawn with NATO's approval to maintain order. States may retain forces necessary to fulfill their international obligations. Each state maintains its own police forces. The basic national contingent may be placed at NATO's disposal, just as basic NATO units may be put under the authority of the European Army. The draft treaty does not say anything on the total composition of the European Army; however, it was based on the hypothesis of 42 divisions of which 14 are French and 12 are German.

Third, the European Army is no longer placed under the authority of a Defense Commissioner as had been envisaged in the Strasbourg resolution or in the Pleven Plan, but under a political Commissariat, similar to the Schuman Plan High Authority. Its members, who must be independent of the national governments, are appointed by common consent of all the participating states; they are replaced a third at a time every two years. Its President is chosen from among its members. Its decisions are reached by majority vote. Its functions are to: draw up and carry out organizational plans; review the recruiting operations carried out by the states; instruct and train forces in accordance with standardized methods; prepare mobilization plans for men and equipment; direct training schools for officers and specialists; inspect and control all forces; direct the stationing of troops according to over-all recommendations from NATO; prepare supply programs and distribute equipment; appoint the officers of basic units in agreement with each of the officers' governments, as well as the high-ranking officers with the unanimous agreement of the Committee of Ministers; carry out liaison with NATO.

Fourth, the Committee of Ministers, composed of delegates from the member governments, co-ordinates the Commissariat's action. It formulates basic directives on matters such as budgets, appointments of top commanders, disagreement with NATO and treaty changes by unanimity; if unanimity cannot be reached, the Commissariat is free to act. By a two-thirds majority it may request the Commissariat to take measures under its jurisdiction or refer the matter to the Assembly for censure, if the Commissariat does not act as it requested.

Fifth, the draft treaty foresees the creation of an Assembly similar to that of the Schuman Plan except that France, Italy and Germany are accorded three more delegates, or 21 members for each of these three states, compared to 10 for Belgium and the Netherlands, and four for Luxembourg. Its role is consultative in shaping the budget. Like the Schuman Plan Authority it can reverse its executive arm by a two-thirds vote.

Sixth, there is a court, whose functions are similar to the court created by the Schuman Plan.

Andre Philip, former member of the French National Assembly and spokesman for the Socialist Party is a leader of the European Movement.

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Seventh, a common budget for the expenses of the unified army is foreseen in the draft. Its receipts will be made up of contributions by states, receipts from the European community itself and US aid. The budget is prepared by the Commissariat. The Committee of Ministers sets each state's contribution by unanimous vote. It then goes to the Assembly which may propose changes, subject to final approval of NATO's Council of Ministers. Each state's contribution is finally presented to each national Parliament. Nine-tenths of each state's contribution must be spent within its monetary zone.

Last, European forces must be subject to a common discipline. As yet no decision seems to have been taken on the subject of the unification of military penal law. Belgium would like to maintain the power of national military courts, while France would like to unify military penal law and place courts-martial under the control of a special section of the European Court.

Obviously this draft raises basic questions for Europeans.

For example, is the basic unit—the division—powerless enough by itself to create a really integrated army, particularly if divisions of the same nationality are stationed on the same territory and if the nation's armament production, covering nine-tenths of its national contribution, is uniformly spread over all kinds of weapons?

And is not the national unit of 75 bombers capable of autonomous action? On this point, Frenchmen fear that Germany may some day return to a policy of neutrality if complete integration is not brought about. If Russia were to promise Germany the return of its former territories, the latter could, at a moment of crisis, disorganize the European Army by pulling out its national divisions.

We question further, whether financial direction is really unified, since the budget will be drawn up by a Committee of Ministers and national contributions will be decided upon by unanimous vote. Will this not lead to permanent disputes among the governments? Should not a budget be voted by a majority vote of the European Assembly possessing original political power?

Also, how effective can a Commissariat be without one man as its head? A committee may work in economic administration. In military organization the case is much stronger for one responsible chief. For this reason France holds to the idea of a European Defense Minister, responsible to the Assembly.

In economic terms, in view of the importance of the armaments program, what would happen if, when a European production plan is adopted, one country devaluates its currency or introduces new quantitative restrictions? Does not a unified army necessarily carry with it a common currency and common regulations of commercial policy imposed upon all participant governments?

Beyond this, the old unanimity rule plagues us again in the Committee of Ministers which must decide essential questions by unanimous vote. After the Strasbourg experience, it seems difficult to believe in the possible efficiency of this method. In fact, the veto right of one country may block everything.

A unified armed force presupposes the unification of political power. The writers of the draft treaty have understood this, and they direct the Assembly to prepare a constitution for a European federal assembly. But the truth is that this assembly is needed not at some later date but now, at once. Two years will be needed in order to set up the European Army; the political institutions must be created within this same period. It is probable that the French Parliament will vote for the projected army only if it is accompanied by a plan to call together a European federal assembly which would provide civil authority before the military institutions assume their powers. We Europeans must advance beyond national sovereignty, but it is too dangerous to entrust generals with political power in Europe. Armies, like children, need parents. Representative political institutions for Europe are today our primary need.

Both in Germany and in France, there have been objections to the European Army from those opposed to any rebuilding of German military strength. American readers must recognize the gravity of this problem. Following several lecture tours in Germany, I have become convinced that the great majority of youth is opposed to participation in an army under present circumstances. Therefore, if there exists no unified political power beforehand, it will not be possible to introduce conscription in Germany because of violent opposition by all young men. It would then be necessary to rely on professional soldiers, who would be recruited from among veterans and ex-Nazis. They could be a dangerous force if they are not totally integrated beforehand in the unified army.

The opposition to German rearmament became so great that the plan for a European Army had no chance of being adopted by the French Parliament. The situation is now modified by the new Russian proposal for a peace treaty with a Germany neutralized but with a national army. If the choice is between a German national army and the participation of German contingents in a poorly integrated European Army, the latter would no doubt appear as the lesser evil. But the one real hope is to accelerate the unification of Europe, to take the decisive step. It will either be the creation of the first continental nucleus of the future united states of Europe, or a fall into anarchistic nationalism which would ring the final knell of our continent.

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LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

MARGINALIA

by Malcolm Cowley

LIKE MANY OR MOST critics I have formed the habit of keeping notes on my reading, together with others on current fashions in literature and public opinion. Poe was a master at making such notes, although he wasn't the first to call them marginalia. They should always be set down without thought of publication, for otherwise they are likely to forfeit their most interesting quality: a sort of naturalness or candor that is hard to achieve when one is writing for a more critical audience than oneself. On this page, as in some earlier issues of the *New Republic*, I have transcribed a few of my own notes, without apologies for briefness and diversity.

The Paranoid Era—Each age seems to have its representative form of mental disorder. I leave it to the psychiatrists to explain why this should be the case, considering that the disorders are individual and cannot be spread by physical contagion. It might be conjectured, however, that most of us have latent psychotic tendencies and that one or another of the tendencies is encouraged and rendered active by the social situation of any given age—much in the same way that the personal maladjustments of soldiers are revealed in the general stress of combat.

But let's get down to cases. In the 1920s the prevailing form of mental disorder, especially among writers and artists, was a schizophrenic withdrawal from reality. The "ivory tower" in which so many artists took refuge was a schizophrenic's paradise (and later some of the towers had bars on the windows). In his study of the symbolist movement, *Axel's Castle*, Edmund Wilson described this type of artistic conduct as "the way of Axel." If one follows that path, he said, "one shuts oneself up in one's own private world, cultivating one's private phantasies, encouraging one's private manias, ultimately preferring one's absurdest chimeras to the most astonishing contemporary realities, ultimately mistaking one's chimeras for realistics." That is almost a clinical description of the early stages of schizophrenia.

In the 1930s the prevailing form of mental disorder was manic-depressive. Instead of withdrawing into themselves like schizophrenics, the manic-depressives are likely to be active and extroverted, at least in the manic phase of the disease. The depressive stage came first, however, and lasted from 1931 to the bank holiday in 1933. Then came the manic stage, with its political activity, its universal planning and its mad hopes for the future. Some of the patients are still recovering from that long talking and hoping jag.

Now in the 1950s the typical psychosis is paranoia, with its systematized delusions of persecution and grandeur; also with its repressed feelings of guilt that are projected on others: "*That* man is to blame; the members of *that* group are plotting to destroy me and mine." We are living in an age of victims, scape-goats, real and imagined conspiracies; an age when the objective situation is so paranoid in itself that thousands of schizophrenics and manic-depressives and millions of normal citizens are developing paranoid symptoms.

Cops, Robbers and Censors—The most popular cop-and-robber stories of recent times (11 million copies in print) deal with the adventures of Mike Hammer, a private detective who is also a sex-obsessed paranoiac and a public menace. I wrote about him not long ago in the *New Republic*. Soon afterward a dozen readers sent me copies of a newspaper story about Mickey Spillane, the author of the Mike Hammer novels; it seems that he has suffered a change of heart and has joined the sect of Jehovah's Witnesses. It was time for Spillane or his publishers to do something drastic. If the Mike Hammer books had continued to appear every six months, as was provided by the author's contract, and if they had continued to sell by the millions, they would soon have led to a general cry for censorship. Moreover the hopeful censors would have had a stronger argument than usual, because the Mike Hammer books reach a vast audience of the immature and semi-literate and because they are plainly an incitement to crimes of violence, especially those directed against women. They would have become an excuse for laws from which better authors would suffer.

Sooner or later Spillane's two publishers, both reputable houses (Dutton and New American Library) would have been forced to recognize that they were encouraging a threat to the freedom of the whole book industry. Now Spillane has saved them the pain of making a decision by making it himself. He says that his books were contributing to what he calls "the moral breakdown of the present generation" and he promises that his new detective stories will be cleaner. He is to be congratulated for an act of conscience that will cost him many thousands of dollars a year—but we hope he will recognize that the openly sexual element in his novels was less dangerous than the half-concealed hostility to women and the irrepressible sadism.

Symbolics—When a door, a well, a tree, a mountain lion, a murder or a seduction is mentioned in one of the new serious novels, one can never be sure whether it is simply a door, wall, tree, mountain lion, etc. or whether it is also and primarily a symbol. "Don't step on it, it might be Lon Chaney," people used to say when Chaney was a famous character actor. Readers of the new fiction have to be warned, "Don't stumble over it, it might be a symbol."

As for the writers of the new fiction, most of them seem to be forgetting that although symbols can deepen or extend the meaning of a plot, they can't take the place of a plot.

Creative Criticism—Some of our recent critics, including many of those who write about Faulkner and Melville

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—and who doesn't?—have failed to make a distinction between effects that were consciously intended by the author and effects that were produced subconsciously, or merely by accident. It is as if the critic were saying, "I know that Melville didn't regard his white whale as quite such a complicated symbol as I have made it seem to be. But Melville was dealing with a mass of material from his subconscious mind, and I have as good a right to reinterpret the material as Melville had." In effect, the critic is setting himself up as a creative artist, and a rival of the author's.

Or take the example of William Faulkner's book, *The Wild Palms.* To the casual reader it seemed to consist of two entirely separate short novels pieced together in an arbitrary fashion. Soon, however, there appeared a new critic to reprove the casual reader for his blindness. The two novels, so the critic said, had many hidden connections and when the author pieced them together he obtained some amazing orchestral effects, which the critic discussed at length. Long afterward Faulkner himself told the story of the book. He had written two novels, *Old Man* and *The Wild Palms.* Both had been rejected by his publisher on the ground that they were too short. He had then produced a longer book by dividing the novels into chapters, shuffling the chapters togethers and printing the whole under one title. In other words, the casual reader had been right and the critic had been creative or imaginative or simply wrong. I doubt that such critics are good artists and I suspect that they are wasting their creative talents. They should be writing surrealistic novels.

Candidate—Mary McCarthy lived among the intellectuals in Greenwich Village. She wrote a wickedly accurate book (*The Company She Keeps*) about the intellectuals in Greenwich Village. Later she joined the faculty of a progressive college and wrote a wickedly accurate book (*The Groves of Academe*) about the faculty of a progressive college. I am founding an organization and raising a fund to send Mary McCarthy to Congress.

A CHEMIST'S UNIVERSE

THE PLANETS, THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT by Harold C. Urey (Yale University Press; $5).

"WHENCE CAME this world, and whether formed by Hand Divine or no" are frequently recurring questions, older than the pyramids and newer than the atomic bomb. Minds habituated to scientific methods of thought constantly look upon all things everywhere as "vestiges of creation." Each advance in knowledge about any part of the universe narrows the avenues in which speculative hypotheses must be confined. Newly gained information in the highly technical aspects of physical chemistry, for example, has its bearing upon even so remote an episode of creation as the birth of the earth. Indeed, the chemical effects of the transformations of matter and energy involved in the earth's origin and juvenile history are even more persistent than the physical effects, many of which were quite temporary; hence the approach to the problem from the point of view of the chemist may be even more fruitful than any hitherto made.

Dr. Urey is superbly qualified to make such an approach. His position of leadership among physical chemists is unchallenged. Nobel Laureate in 1934, as a consequence of his work with the heavy hydrogen isotope, he was a key figure in the research leading to our present knowledge of nuclear fission. In this book, based upon the Silliman Lectures delivered at Yale University during the spring of 1951, he reports the results of his study of a subject that he describes as "one of the most interesting that has ever occupied" his attention. The book is not easy reading for the casual or technically untrained reader. It "is written mostly in the style of a research paper" and is thus intended for serious students, for whom it will prove to be a stimulating and informative monograph.

Summarized in non-technical language, it is Dr. Urey's concept that the solar system originated as a disc-shaped cloud of cosmic dust in which the several components condensed at temperatures far below the melting-point of ice. As solar material became concentrated, the interior of the primitive sun increased in temperature, and nuclear reactions began the generation of heat. Especially after the sun became a luminous body, the temperatures at various distances from it increased toward those now existing. The disc of residual gas and dust, surrounding the sun, was unstable, largely because of turbulence, and broke up into large masses, increasing in size with increasing distance from the sun. These masses condensed further to form protoplanets and planetesimals. Condensation of water and ammonia promoted the accumulation of the latter, within the region of the terrestrial planets, whereas methane may have served a similar function in the region of the major planets and beyond the distance of Pluto, where comets were forming. "The distribution of mass of planets with distance from the sun was influenced and the irregularities probably determined by the properties of water, ammonia, and methane."

Early in its history the protoplanet earth would pass through a high-temperature stage, but before long it entered a second low-temperature stage, as a result, in part, of the escape of gas. In consequence the greater part of the earth was constructed of planetesimals composed of silicates and iron, much like the present meteorites. This concept of an earth which formed at much lower temperatures than have been generally thought to be the case is one of Dr. Urey's principal conclusions. In a sense, it revives some of the ideas of Chamberlin and Moulton, as expressed in their well-known, but commonly discarded "planetesimal hypothesis."

Another radical concept in this new theory pertains to the origin of the earth's core with its enclosing shells of diversified lithic material—the stratiform structure of the earth's interior, revealed by modern seismology. "A more uniform distribution of iron throughout the silicate phases of the earth existed in the past than exists now and the iron core of the earth has been formed at least partly during geologic time." This idea has significant bearing upon the nature of the mountain-making forces that have so profoundly affected earth history since the oldest known rocks were

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formed and will be scrutinized with interest by geologists, just as the sequence of events in still more remote time will be examined critically by astronomers.

KIRTLEY F. MATHER

Mr. Mather is professor of Geology at Harvard University.

MEMOIRS FROM SANCTUARY

WITNESS, by Whittaker Chambers (Random House; $5).

MR. CHAMBERS' MEMOIRS will never seriously challenge the literary standing of those by Rousseau, Casanova or even Ulysses Grant. Nevertheless, *Witness* will certainly be one of the most discussed—and commercially the most successful—autobiographies of the decade. Thus *Witness* is undeniably important; it cannot be ignored, though it is often an unbelievable book, frequently a boring book, vastly overwritten and sometimes sickening, and nearly always a terrifying book. But not in the way Mr. Chambers intended: it does not reveal new information or interpretation of the Hiss-Chambers case, or of the alleged existence of a tiny but supposedly effective espionage ring in Washington during the thirties.

After reading Chambers' largely verbatim report of his and Hiss' appearances before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and their tragi-comic meeting in the Commodore Hotel, surely no reasoning person can doubt that Alger Hiss—even if innocent of espionage—is guilty of enacting the Big Lie, though possibly for reasons not yet explained.

Insisting, in wearisome detail, on his affection for Hiss, Whittaker Chambers makes of him a villain of classic proportions; but former Kremlin Agent Chambers emerges a man of embarrassingly heroic stature in *Witness*. On page three, he explains the title: "A witness is a man whose life and faith are so completely one that when the challenge comes to step out and testify for his faith, he does so, disregarding all risks, accepting all consequences."

But of what Chambers considers his own ordeal—the two trials of Alger Hiss—he is curiously unrevealing; (*A Generation On Trial*—Alistair Cooke's account of the court room proceedings—is far more enlightening)? And there are no references to the most famous Woodstock typewriter in history.

That Chambers is demonstrably immodest in *Witness* is unimportant; so too, for that matter, is his cloying self-pity. When he begins to tell the story of his boyhood the real horrors begin. He devotes more than a hundred pages to his monumentally unhappy youth, calling it "The Story of a Middle Class Family." Yet the Chambers' household in Lynnbrook was hardly typical of middle or any other class. Whittaker's father, Jay, was a reasonably successful commercial artist, whose lonely meals were for years served to him on a tray in his bedroom. "Not once," his son writes, "did he ever play with me. He was uncommunicative to the point of seeming mute." When he did address Whittaker, he called him the "Beadle."

Chambers' mother is reminiscent of the mother in Tennessee Williams' *The Glass Menagerie*; her father had made and lost several fortunes (the last before her marriage) and obsessed with the dreams of those better days that would never return, she nursed the bitter feeling that "she had married the cook." Then, there was brother Richard, who after finishing a quart of whiskey stuck his head in the gas oven, whilst Grandmother Whittaker, who locked herself in her bedroom clutching a knife, mumbled warnings that the house was filling with gas. And still later when the father moved away, Mother Chambers moved her two sons into her bedroom, locked the front door, locked and barricaded the bedroom door, and hid an axe in the closet. "In that somewhat uneasy atmosphere" Chambers writes, "I began to take a knife to bed with me." And things were not much better in the world outside: "In school, I never had any friends. From time to time, this . . . gave me an unpleasant feeling of being out of step."

Thus, it is hardly surprising that many years later, when he broke with the Communist underground, Chambers slept with a gun under his pillow. He was convinced that the GPU wanted to wipe him out; however his fears did not stop there: in 1941, when an FBI agent came to his office at *Time*, Chambers refused to see him outside, ". . . my suspicion was aroused. By then I was certain that the Administration was more interested in surpressing my story than in discovering the fact. . . . Therefore, I told Special Agent Smith that I would meet him at any time in my office, but nowhere else."

During the near-decade when he employed by *Time*—he called them "The Tranquil Years"—Chambers was constantly surrounded by enemies, an incredible number of Communists, some non-Communists suffering from "the Popular Front mind", and many mere nincompoops. At best his colleagues ". . . seemed like little children . . . knowing and clever about trifling things while they were extremely resistant to finding out anything else. . . . Most of them [he adds significantly] were liberals, and I was incapable of being a liberal."

A large part of *Witness* is, quite naturally, concerned with Chambers' long membership in the Communist Party and his lengthy service in the underground; another part with his movements among a handful of New Dealers, who in the confusion of the thirties, saw the Soviet Union as a spiritual Fatherland. His opinion of the New Deal is not startling: "the drift was prevailingly toward socialism though the mass of those who, in part directed, in part were carried along by it, sincerely supposed that they were liberals."

Less familiar and far more frightening is his view of the anti-Communist struggle. He writes:

> Communism restores man to his sovereignty by the simple method of denying God. . . . It challenges him to prove it by using the force of his rational mind to end the bloody meaningless of man's history—by giving it purpose and a plan.
>
> And on the other side there is only faith.
>
> Faith is the central problem of this age. The Western World does not know it,

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but it already possesses the answer to this problem—but only provided that its faith in God and the freedom He enjoins is as great as Communism's faith in Man."

Thus, in the most fundamental sense *Witness* is an appeal to un-reason. Chambers has no understanding of or sympathy for those twentieth century democrats who never have and never could become agents of the Kremlin, members of the Communist Party, or defenders of the tyranny of the Soviet Union. At one point, he approvingly quotes a statement by the late General Walter Krivitsky, one-time head of the Soviet underground in Western Europe. "Looked at concretely," Krivitsky declared, "there are no ex-Communists. There are only revolutionists and counter-revolutionists."

> He meant [Chambers explains] that, in the 20th Century, all politics . . . is the politics of revolution. He meant that, in so far as man ventures to think or act politically, or even if he tries to think or act at all, history will, nevertheless, define what he is in terms of those two mighty opposites. . . . In action, there is no middle ground.

Krivitsky and Chambers are wrong. The whole history of western progress is based on the belief—faith, if you will—that, by reason, man can reduce the chaos of nature, can, by his rational will to order, achieve a measure of abundance, security, and peace. If there is no middle ground, then man is without purpose or hope. Surely a great many of Mr. Chambers' readers will reject his terrifying, his demeaning thesis.

MERLE MILLER

Mr. Miller's latest book, The Judges and the Judged, *was published in April.*

BOOKS IN BRIEF

ASK ME TOMORROW by James Gould Cozzens (Harcourt, Brace; $1.75).

Mr. Cozzens' novel published in 1940 is now deservedly reprinted in the Harbrace Modern Classics series. The scene is Florence, the Riviera, Grindelwald, and it is there to the last ski-slope in the best tradition of the Baedeker novel. The central character is Francis Ellery, an astute, witty, thoroughly selfish and just as thoroughly ingratiating young rascal. An impecunious writer, he engages to tutor a lad, lamed by polio and plagued by asthma, but withal game and of a sunny nature. Ellery, it develops, has been courting the perfect girl by correspondence, no great strain since he is a writer, but when she appears in person he begins to treat his tutorial duties somewhat cavalierly, and his employer threatens to sack him. But a crisis arises, Ellery meets it quite creditably and perhaps as a consequence takes leave of his fair lady, who, I could have told him chapters earlier, was not for the likes of him.

Cozzens' novel is as slightly plotted as all that, but is also as solid, warm, cunningly articulated and as marvelously alive as the human body. It reminds one, in its piquant union of shrewdness and wisdom, kindness and irony, of E. M. Forster's work; in the soigné elegance of its characters, of Fitzgerald's; in its sly, wonderful winks of meaning, of *South Wind*. It reminds one of a lot of first-rate writing because that's what it is, page after page of it. Cozzens has been unfairly tagged as a writer's writer; he is a reader's writer all the way, lucid, fluent, high-spirited.

DAVID GOLDKNOPF

PSYCHOANALYSIS AND POLITICS by R. E. Money-Kyrle (Norton; $3.)

The possible understanding that psychiatry can bring to social situations is most important in relation to tension, overaggression, and international hostility as a potential cause of war. Mr. Money-Kyrle attempts a contribution in this field based on his experience as a member of a British team of psychologists sent to Germany just after the Second World War to screen individuals who might be entrusted with positions of authority. His analysis, largely in personality terms, is rigidly Freudian and leans heavily on the aftermath of the Oedipus complex. He also argues that a home environment marked by strict parental discipline, and a political organization by bureaucracy, predispose people to do whatever they are told, regardless of the moral implications. This book is not for those who reject the Freudian theories, or are unfamiliar with its terminology.

B. B.

UNAMBO, by Max Brod (Farrar, Straus and Young; $3.00).

Though English translations of his novels have previously appeared, Brod is perhaps best known for his editing of *Kafka. Unambo* (that is, *uno* and *ambo*, one and both, the Devil's machine for surmounting the either/or dilemmas of man) is his first novel on a contemporary setting to be translated into English. The site is the new State of Israel at war, the time vaguely prior to 1948, the year the novel was finished. The work is, as one would suspect, both supported and marred by its political relations. Its characters are motivated by the injustice the new State suffers. They seem reasonable and virtuous in the face of their humanity; and yet they are too closely aligned with propaganda. Despite this, and despite the confused episode of the Devil in the first chapter and the slowness of the second chapter, the novel is more than a tribal affair, and purveys more enlightenment on the conditions in Israel than all the news accounts combined.

WADE DONAHOE

ANOTHER KIND, by Anthony West (Houghton Mifflin; $3.50.)

One sad day a middle-aging London architect (passively married) encountered a beautiful young girl on a bus. To his disillusionment, the girl turned out to be a whore. But love persisted, and in the course of things, the architect's wife invites her husband and the lady in question to join in a menage a trois, plus the two children of their union, in a broken-down old mill in Cornwall. This reviewer is not responsible for the foregoing summation of a so-called plot. Mr. Anthony West, who has spent years in England and here as a professional judge of fiction, has stuck his head in the lion's mouth by publishing this preposterous novel. Not content with this D. H. Laurentian nonsense, he has gone further and added an H. G. Wellsian finale, in which the North Britons, with the aid of the Welsh republicans, march upon the citizens of Bloomsbury and environs. Result: The lion bit his head off. This is a silly and irritating book, if only because West has talent, originality and brains. Q. E. D.

G. M.

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THE SPENDTHRIFTS, by Perez Galdos translated by Gamel Woolsey (Farrar, Straus and Young; $3.50).

A very popular novelist in Spain, Galdos (1845-1920) used to be admired as a second to Balzac, touched up with Dickens and Tolstoy. Hitherto no one has translated any of his works into English, and he has no reputation among English readers. Regretfully, one must admit that *The Spendthrift*, as translated, has no control of Galdos' point of view; its structure is laid on externally by the translator without genuine action; its characters are hurried along detail to detail in nervous gestures of description. The "events" of the novel are temporary and may be left to history. W.D.

JEFFERSON SELLECK by Carl Jonas (Little, Brown; $3).

The good novel makes its readers wise, or at least wiser, but there is an insidiously bad kind of novel that makes its readers *feel* wise. Such a novel is assured of popular and—all too often—critical approval such as *Jefferson Selleck* already enjoys.

But the complacency it breeds is small reward for enduring at length the company of its central figure, a man whose dullness is as tacky and inexhaustible as that asphalt lake in Trinidad. Selleck, a middle-aged, Mid-Western manufacturer who, upon suffering a heart attack, is encouraged by his physician to dictate his memoirs into a tape recorder. The device encourages verbosity: exactly the opposite effect of the epistolary format of *The Late George Apley,* to which this book is imprudently compared in the jacket blurb.

It is also compared with *Babbitt*, which it resembles about as much as a mudpack resembles a mustard plaster. But then, we are told, Selleck is Babbitt "thirty years later . . . wiser . . . sadder . . . mellower . . . [and now the author speaks] arriving at some kind of answer to all the intangibles which oppressed him." I *think* Carl Jonas is trying to say that the most pigheaded element in this country, which Selleck faithfully represents, is groping toward maturity.

D. G.

THE WORKS OF LOVE by Wright Morris (Knopf; $3).

The story is of Will Brady, American, born not in a log-cabin but in a sod hut on the soul-murdering prairie, who wanders wraithlike across the land in search of a home. His wandering ends in the Chicago Sewage Canal. In his pocket is the postcard he always writes and never sends to his son, who isn't his son but the child a whore happened to be carrying when he gave her a wedding-ring. It could be a very affecting story and in places it is: like the railroad journeys that figure so prominently in it, it is most absorbing at the beginning and the end. Elsewhere, I feel, Morris takes his characters less seriously than he expects his readers to take them. His symbols are too bald or bizarre to be effective, while the track Brady travels is, like a railroad track, too linear and monochromatic to be interesting. Brady passes through life without being of it—that's the author's point—but the life he is not part of is seldom clearly seen. Or is Morris saying that the American Dream is just that—a dream in which *all* men wander doomed, wraithlike, and alone? Whatever the theory behind it, Brady's extreme deracination makes one feel that this is not so much a novel as the chassis of a novel. D.G.

SOME THEATRE BOOKS

UBU ROI, by Alfred Jarry, translated by Barbara Wright. (New Directions; $6.50.)

Ubu Roi is, in a double sense, a literary excrescence. First because it was dropped awkwardly into the modern dramatic repertoire by a literary impulse, French Symbolism, that was essentially un-, perhaps even anti-, theatrical. And secondly because for Jarry the figure of Ubu was not so much a considered symbol as a neurotic obsession; and the play therefore has more the character of an act of purgation than of creation. Though it achieved a certain *succès de scandale* when performed by the Théâtre de l'Oeuvre in 1896, it chiefly owes its reputation today to surrealists like André Breton who, adding a good deal of their own consciousness to Jarry's, found in it a kind of paternity for their private literary aims. Even in the present accurate but graceless (and very British) translation, the caricature of man's greed, stupidity, cowardice, and gluttony as portrayed in Ubu emerges as too wild, too extravagant, too baldly stated to be penetrating. Jarry resembles Swift in his monstrous disgust for unalleviated flesh, his preoccupation with coprology, his sense of man as one of the cruder and more brutal forms of animal life. But the work has nothing of Swift's brilliance or logically controlled remorselessness. The joke, which takes the form of showing Ubu in a series of excessively ludicrous acts bound together by a loose narrative concerning his usurping the throne of Poland, engaging in wars with his nobles, being overthrown, and fleeing finally back to France, is stated quite sufficiently by the end of the first act. The rest is deliberate restatement which has some points as caricature, but is too tedious to make for satire and too predictable to make for drama. The special modernity of the play and doubtless its most attractive feature to the surrealists is in the language: in the puns, in the absurd oaths, and in the made-up words. But the language does not and probably could not wholly come across in any translation. For this reason, any translation would be likely to expose the inachievement of Jarry somewhat more frankly than they deserve. Yet it is useful to have the play in English, and it is fun to have it so appropriately illustrated by Franciszka Themerson and printed in the extravagantly Jarryesque manner of this edition. WM. BECKER

THE SEAGULL PRODUCED BY STANISLAVSKY, edited by S. D. Balukhaty; translated by David Magarshack; postscript by Herbert Marshall. (Theatre Arts Books; $5.)

Stanislavsky material, old and new, continues to pour from the presses. On my desk I have *Acting, a Handbook of the Stanislavsky Method* (New York, 1947), Stanislavsky's promptbook of *Othello* as published in Paris and London respectively in 1948, *Das deutsche Stanislawsky-Buch* as published in Berlin in the same year, and *Building a Character* (New York, 1949). The latest addition to the list is *The Seagull Pro-*

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duced by Stanislavsky. In type, it belongs with *Stanislavsky Produces Othello,* and is much more valuable; first, because it is complete (the *Othello* notes break off at the end of Act Three) and, second, because *The Seagull* is by the playwright without whom the "Stanislavsky method" might never have been born.

Furthermore, the new book is much better illustrated. (From the British *Othello,* many of Stanislavsky's drawings were omitted.) My only serious stricture is that Stark Young's translation is neither used as text nor mentioned in Mr. Marshall's comparison of the various English versions in his postcript.

In the theatre the *Othello* and the *Seagull* will probably prove the most useful of all Stanislavsky books—more useful than *An Actor Prepares* and *Building a Character,* which, despite their fame, are not very readable. Like Brecht's recent *Antigonemodell* and *Theaterarbeit,* they are theatrical art at its best recorded and preserved for future generations. E. B.

THE THEATRE DICTIONARY, by Wilfred Granville. (Philosophical Library; $5).

This poorly edited volume furnishes passable definitions of many terms used in the British theatre, but its editor is obviously most at home when he is telling old stories about touring actors. American expressions get the scantest attention; such terms as *double take, double talk* and *buck and wing* are omitted. Still, Mr. Granville finds room for these absurdities; random biographical entries on British actors, under nicknames like *Pa* and *Gerald;* illustrative sentences that are, almost without exception, superfluous (e. g., for *opening line,* "I must rush down now, old boy, I have the opening line." The sample sentence for *unsympathetic part* ingeniously changes the phrase to "wretched part."); the disclosure that *Fabulous, the* was "the name given to the Sadler's Wells Ballet Company" in this country, and the statement that Ibsen's and Strindberg's plays ("gloom for its own sake") inevitably cause "out-of-place laughter." The Ibsen-Strindberg reference belongs to the category of misinformation, along with the definition of *starlet* as "child star," the suggestion that *tenderloin* is a current name for the theatre district of New York, the equation of both *ingenue* and *soubrette* with "singing chambermaid," and the assertion that the word *filly* (meaning a girl) is "an obsolete Victorian term." HENRY POPKIN

THE GREAT GOD PAN, by Robert Payne. (Hermitage House; $3.75.)

Myth and ritual were bound to work their way down to the potboilers. Robert Payne's forty-fifth book is a fruity "Biography of the Tramp played by Charles Chaplin." (The *persona* is confusing; although the dandy and slapstick roles are not "Charlie," Verdoux and the Dictator conveniently are) "Charlie," it seems, is a semi-divine incarnation of all the religious and comic characters from Pan to Punch who deal in dance, mockery, and death. In Payne's fleshy mystique, "Charlie," as apostle of elemental needs and pleasures, represents the last refuge of human dignity before the onslaught of the mechanized apocalypse. Since our dilemma is allegedly spiritual, Payne chooses to ignore Chaplin's vehement attacks against the inhumanity of social institutions in their present form, and reads his sermons in the light of consolation. Payne's pseudo-insights add up to the same old picture of the lovable little man seen through the beery eyes of sentimental tragedy. THEODORE HOFFMAN

THE MODERN SHAKESPEARE

by Eric Bentley

IV

IF WE WISH to make Shakespeare credible, and show that his world solidly exists like that of Balzac and Tolstoy, and is not rococo and deliquescent like that of our latter-day poetic dramatists, there is no better place to start than the history plays.

It was the achievement of the Stratford director, Anthony Quayle, to try and present the history plays as history. Instead of shaky substitutes for tragedy and comedy, a national epic unfolds before us. Shakespeare's England is revealed, explained, and championed. Writing in the only form of drama, the chronicle play, which the Elizabethans invented, Shakespeare has here given us the most original and penetrating piece of politics in our literature. If the idea of political literature suggests to us only the name of Howard Fast or, at best, H. G. Wells, we have our Shakespeare directors—Laurence Olivier is but the latest example—to thank.

To see the plays in successive performance, as at Stratford, is to find their political values. Within the general framework individual portraits take on a broader meaning. Michael Redgrave could give us the effeminate Richard with whom Maurice Evans has familiarized us but whereas in the Evans production the homosexuality remained a piquant morsel of psychology that seemed a modern addition to the play, in the Quinn production it was the index of corruption in the state. If Richard was an individual he was even more the representative of a political order, and his predilection for men had a political significance. Bushy, Bagot, and Green were caterpillars not of modern Bohemia but of historical commonwealth.

Seeing the plays together not only gives each character a wider frame of reference, it enables you to note how Shakespeare develops a character from one play to the next. That the role of Bolingbroke describes a tragic curve up from ambitious youth to successful rebellion and down to despairing death is obvious to every reader. It was the achievement of the actor at Stratford, Harry Andrews, to show with how much subtlety this simple action is filled out and with how much "shock" one element is brought up against another. Shakespeare's Bolingbroke stands in the utmost contrast to your modern, naturalistic portrait, which builds a tame consistency out of tiny traits. Where the naturalist blows his single thin note, Shakespeare trumpets his rich dissonant chord. To judge from the opening scene of *Richard II* the man is fiery and explosive and proud. A little later he is cold and taciturn and treacherous. In the second part of *Henry IV*, it is amazing how he gains grandeur as he loses confidence; by dignity in failure he enters into a kind of glory.

If Mr. Quayle showed that he could use his actors to register such dialectical

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effects as these, he showed also that he could exact the maximum from his designer. The "togetherness"—as well as the Elizabethanness—of the histories was suggested by the use of a single set for four evenings, a set resembling the Elizabethan stage. Tanya Moiseivitch's version of this stage is a fine corrective to the patronizing, picture-book account of it in Olivier's *Henry V*.

The Quayle productions are about the finest I have seen in some twenty years as a Shakespeare fan. If one is disposed to carp, it is because one is disappointed that a director who has gone so far could not have gone further. Further into interpretation. Once we begin taking the histories seriously we should take them *quite* seriously.

We should take soldiers as soldiers and battles as battles. Current stage practice is as un-Shakespearean as it is un-Shavian. Credibility nil, unreality infinite. The soldiers' chorus of a provincial opera company is but an extreme case. Miss Webster's soldiers differ only in being slightly less unkempt. And even Mr. Quayle's belong less to history than to a costume ball, though a very good one. The very expression "costume play" indicates how trivial our idea of a historical drama is. It is a play in which everyone wears new clothes of an old period. In a costume play even old clothes are new: if they are patched they obviously didn't need to be, and the patches have been chosen for picturesqueness and gaiety, not for utility. In this context, to be clothed in rags means to have had one's clothes systematically cut to ribbons with the scissors; to be dirty means to have had one's clothes systematically daubed with improbably fresh and obtrusive blobs of paint.

The history plays of Shakespeare will never be more than a carnival until the clothes belong not only to the period but to the characters and their circumstances. Another test-case—as to seriousness of interpretation—is the presentation of combat. The "moderns," concentrating on their task of making Shakespeare popular, have done well to call attention back to the histrionic possibilities of the stage fights. Duels are much better executed than they were twenty years ago. On the other hand, if it is not a handsome duel that is to be presented but an ugly battle (and battles are ugly *per se*), it is not so much to the fencing master one must go as to the history books and war novels. Or to the daily newspapers: what they tell of war (at least when they report the other side's baseness and failure rather than our side's heroism and success) is far closer to Shakespeare than any of our Shakespeare productions.

One had no sense from Mr. Quayle's productions that in Shakespeare as in life battle is the continuation of politics by other means. One of the war scenes in *Heny IV*, Part Two, presents as barefaced a political double-cross as the twentieth century itself might have devised. Prince John proposes peace. His army and the enemy's army are to disband. The proposed is accepted. But, while the enemy's army is disbanded, John keeps his own intact and is thus able to arrest the enemy leaders. Such is victory in war, such is politics. Yet precisely at such a point in the play, where the action burns with topical truth, Mr. Quayle has lost his bearings and falls back on merely decorative (that is, meaningless) direction.

The major history sequence (*Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V*) is, with *Bartholomew Fair*, the great masterpiece of social realism in English. Such a realism is too robust in its spirit, too devastating in its dialectic, for the "moderns." Its range is too wide: it is at once too earthy and too intellectual for them. Its combination of fun and seriousness is both too bold and too complex. So they cut short the extraordinary Duke of York episodes in *Richard II*—even when the actor of the Duke's part, as at Stratford, seems to have the knack of them to perfection. And they tone down the greatest play of the series, *Henry IV*, Part Two, making it both less funny and less sad, less mundane and less sublime, till, without head or feet, as it were, it fits the bed of a genteel Procrustes.

Mr. Bentley's Shakespeare series will be concluded next week.

Next Mr. Bentley will write on the 1952 performances of Martha Graham and her dance company.

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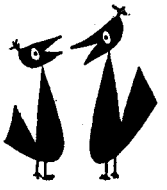

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